

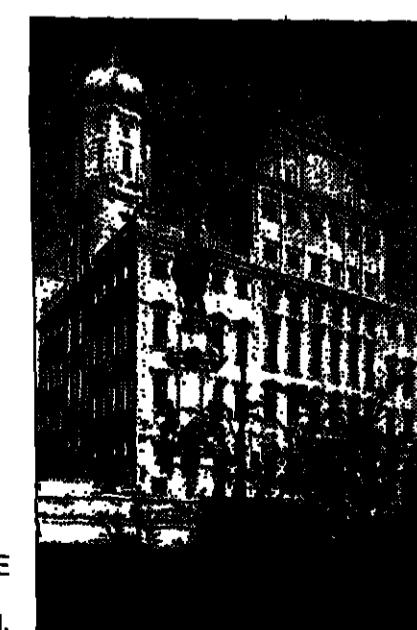
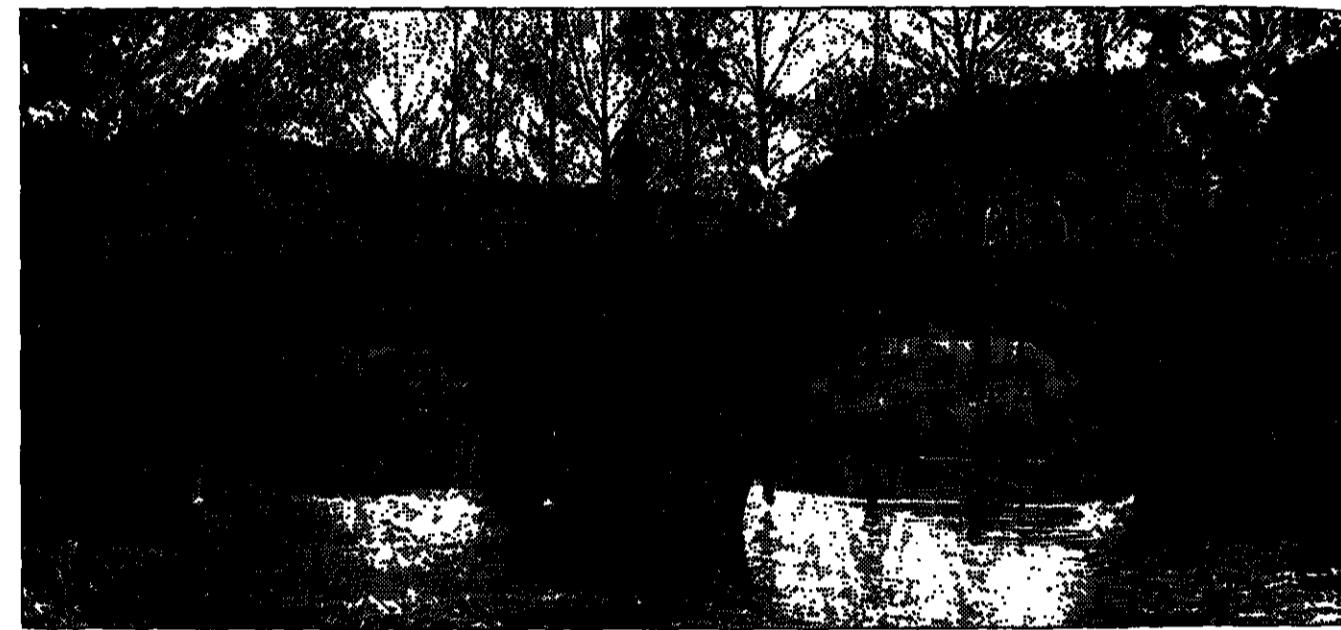
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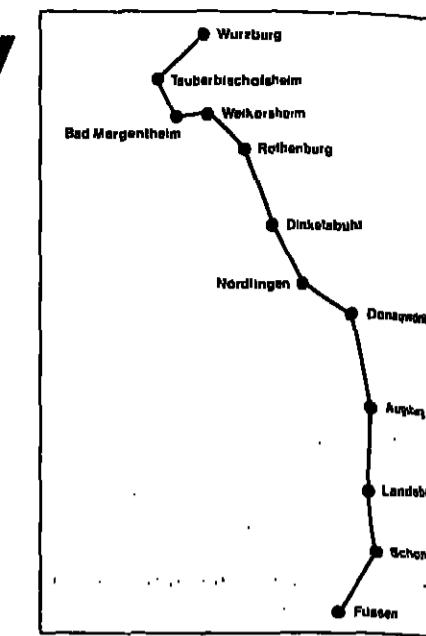


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3



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05 The German Tribune

Hamburg, 26 March 1989
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DEPOSE A BX X

Bonn and East Berlin: a delicate balancing act

DIE ZEIT

Ambivalence is a keynote of intra-German relations. While Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Helmut Haussmann and Housing Minister Oscar Schneider demonstratively cancelled visits to the GDR on account of would-be refugees killed by East German border guards at the Berlin Wall, North Rhine-Westphalian Premier Johannes Rau no less demonstratively went ahead with his visit to the Leipzig Fair, where he met GDR leader Erich Honecker.

Is the entire climate of intra-German ties growing harsher? The stiff-necked attitude of GDR leaders toward reform and the sticklers for principles who are thereby encouraged in the Federal Republic are creating an increasingly explosive situation.

The shortfall in common sense that is starting to gain ground in this context is evidenced by the vehement criticism of the Bonn government's decision not to be too stingy in renegotiating the lump sum payment in return for overland transit rights to and from Berlin.

The substantial increase is a shrewd move, not only because the terms agreed will be in force until the end of the century, stabilising a lifeline, but because it sets a political scene for further progress and other projects.

These ought to include both new and direct easements for ordinary people and, for instance, a common environmental policy. The East Berlin government is reluctant because it is well aware what a Herculean task it would then face.

This point counterpoint has always been a feature of relations between the two German states. The policy of a limited opening to the West has earned East Berlin billions in hard currency, but it has also fomented domestic unrest.

Conversely, Bonn faces the contradiction that its payments to the GDR both benefit ordinary East Germans and consolidate communist rule there.

The success story of intra-German relations to date has been based on these contradictions being accepted and allowed to form part of a pragmatic approach.

For some time, however, their existence, let alone their continued existence, has been in jeopardy. What people in the GDR want in the wake of the policy of opening to the West has been joined by their response to glasnost and perestroika in the East.

The GDR leaders' reservations on, not to say rejection of, reform moves in the Soviet Union and other East bloc states tends to heighten this response. The atmosphere is tense.

Hopes and dreams are on the increase in the Federal Republic too, even if they are often mere figments of the imagination in comparison with the realities of the situation.

This is certainly true of the new national romantic outlook which, given the changes that are under way in the East, feels the time has come to bring the German Question back on to the agenda of world affairs, solving it by means of reunification.

Continued on page 6

sions questions as to the ratio of give and take in intra-German ties are increasingly arising.

The Federal government will find it more difficult to justify its policy toward the GDR at home, especially if the Bonn coalition parties go even a little way toward echoing recent right-wing trends. So tension is on the increase here too.

Is the entire climate of intra-German ties growing harsher? The stiff-necked attitude of GDR leaders toward reform and the sticklers for principles who are thereby encouraged in the Federal Republic are creating an increasingly explosive situation.

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Continued on page 6



Congratulations, dad. Frederike Momper presents her father, Walter Momper, with a bouquet of flowers to mark his inauguration as mayor of West Berlin. At right is Frau Anne Momper. Shepard Stone writes on Berlin, page 4. (Photo: dpa)

Berlin's Red-Green coalition a political litmus test

The new mayor of Berlin is Walter Momper. The Social Democrat succeeds Eberhard Diepgen (CDU). Although the SPD and CDU both have 55 members in the Berlin assembly following the election in January, the SPD has the support of 17 Alternative List (Greens) members. The remaining 11 members are from the extreme right-wing Republican Party. The "Red-Green" Senate (Cabinet) comprises eight women and six men, the first time there have been more women than men in any Cabinet in any Land. The Alternative List holds three portfolios, Women, Education and Environment.

The Berlin coalition of Social Democrats and the Alternative List has got off to an unfaltering start. Anyone who had expected the coalition to be snared up in the city's complicated constitutional requirements was put to rights by the faultless discipline of the coalition parties as they cast their crucial first votes.

As

the seemingly effortless manner in which the new Senate was voted in — its first political acid test — showed yet again how well aware the SPD and the Greens are of the significance of their move.

Both well know, no matter how often the Social Democrats may deny it, that their joint venture will serve as a model in forthcoming polls in the Federal Republic, up to and including next year's general election.

Politicians in the Federal Republic will inevitably now take a closer look at Berlin,

some in hopes of seeing the progress of the SPD-Green coalition as a deterrent, others with a view to seeing how coalition alternatives might fare.

Is a burden of this kind a spur to special achievement or does it tend to paralyse the parties?

SPD Mayor Walter Momper's female Cabinet, with a sprinkling of statutory males, made such a cheerful and hopeful initial impression as it set out on the thorny road to reform that the former would seem to be more the case.

The decisive factor is sure to be how and in what sectors the junior partner in the coalition, the Alternative List, seeks to demonstrate that it is no appendage of the SPD or mere supplier of a majority in the House of Representatives.

The Greens will want to show that they are a separate, and distinct party, with a profile of their own. If the Alternative List in Berlin goes about it in the same way as Greens in other parts of the country have done in the past, the days of this coalition will be numbered.

If the Alternative List agrees to political objectives on which consensus and compromise are possible, and if it subordinates its marked party-political egoism to responsibility for the common good of Berlin, the result could be an interesting impetus for reform emanating from the city.

Hans-Jürgen Müller
(Hamburger Abendblatt, 17 March 1989)

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■ INTERNATIONAL

Touches of disunity in the patrician surrounds of the *viribus unitis*

Until recent Western Europe seemed to have built up a full head of steam and only to be waiting to get moving toward the European internal market and, later, even to a political union.

Three men were at the ready in the driver's cab to point the locomotive toward a new era.

They were: President Mitterrand of France, re-elected just over a year ago for a second seven-year term; Chancellor Kohl of Germany, head of the Bonn government since 1982 and likely to continue to do so until the mid-1990s; and Jacques Delors, president of European Commission in Brussels, who seems likely to remain at the helm there until 1992.

Yet now, at the speed that can come as such a surprise in politics, the trio have a grey and grumpy look — M. Delors apart.

Helmut Kohl, arguably the last convinced European among Bonn's Chancellors, is waging a domestic battle for political survival.

François Mitterrand, who was given a clear political mandate but not a majority in the National Assembly by French voters, is governing in a listless, lacklustre manner.

Rumours are already circulating in the French capital that President Mitterrand, 72, is considering early retirement in a few years' time.

As is always the case when leadership and verve show signs of flagging, communication cords are pulled and irritation and nervousness multiply — even between traditional partners Bonn and Paris, the *couple franco-allemand*.

The latest but clearly not last of these irritations occurred, of all places, at the conference on conventional disarmament, opened earlier this month at Emperor Franz-Josef's magnificent Austro-Hungarian *Hofburg* in Vienna.

Viribus unitis, the Latin name of the hall where the conference began, was mistakenly translated in *Die Zeit* as "united associates;" it should, of course, have been "united forces."

As it happened neither German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher nor his French counterpart, Roland Dumas, did justice to either rendering of this high-flying Habsburg name.

M. Dumas chose to go it alone with a remark in his conference speech that greatly upset Bonn diplomats and a number of newspapers.

France seemed once more to be playing a special role and, worse still, to be proposing special treatment for the Federal Republic of Germany.

M. Dumas first outlined the Nato proposal to subdivide the enormous land mass from the Atlantic to the Urals that is to be dealt with at the talks into specific regions.

That makes sound military sense. A tank in Spain does not have the same status for a surprise attack in Central Europe as a tank stationed in the Federal Republic of Germany or the GDR.

When arms cuts are finally implemented, the pacts are not to be entitled to keep the intellectual architecture of the friendship alive among successor generations."

Professor Weidenfeld, whose work as Bonn government coordinator is in a strictly honorary capacity, takes a most optimistic view of the prospects. Despite a number of irritations, German-American relations are, he says in his annual

Bonn governments, including that of Helmut Kohl and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, have constantly warned against separating the territory of the Federal Republic from that of its allies in Western Europe by means of special arms control stipulations.

Bonn has been worried, rightly or wrongly but certainly for ages, about the risk of political decoupling. And the French Foreign Minister poured grains of salt into this wound in Vienna.

"Certain states on whose territory the most forward-based forces are stationed," he said, "will be the object of a special treatment and a discussion appropriate to their situation. In Nato, for instance, they include the Federal Republic of Germany and the Benelux countries."

The hazard lights promptly started to flash in the minds of West German disarmament experts, and Bonn, nervous in any case, was upset about the unreliable French.

The East had already called in Vienna for arms to be thinned out on a priority basis along the line of confrontation in Central Europe. Was Paris now supplying grist for Moscow's mill?

France had repeatedly stressed the

importance of Franco-German defence cooperation. It did so in M. Dumas's speech even. But were old patterns of thought now prevailing?

Had Franco-German relations been relaxed and harmonious — and that is the important aspect of the entire issue — this storm in a teacup would be most unlikely to have occurred.

True, M. Dumas ought to have shown the controversial section of his speech to his German counterpart and friend Herr Genscher beforehand.

But M. Dumas is not in the best of health (neither is Herr Genscher), and for the most part he merely repeated what President Mitterrand had said at the United Nations last September.

Besides, the Nato concept officially and expressly provides for disarmament in all zones and sub-regions to come into force "simultaneously and in the entire area from the Atlantic to the Urals only."

So French territory and equipment would be involved, and the French have not been alone in advocating special sub-region status for an area comprising the Federal Republic of Germany, Benelux, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Poland; so have America and Britain. Yet Bonn

would have preferred a greater degree of French support, and minor disappointment will lead to major frustration if Paris and Bonn drag their feet on the political groundwork of Western Europe.

That is why the latest upset, which the Bonn Foreign Office has swallowed, is a signal. As the French, with their strong marked sovereignty principles, still set the limits to political cooperation, any move toward further Western European initiatives would have to be made by France.

But Paris has adopted a wait-and-see approach. The single internal market, or so the convenient, prevailing view would have it, will bring about political integration somehow or other.

That is a mistaken assumption. The native enthusiasm for "Europe 1992" France is giving way to growing alarm.

According to a recent survey 58 per cent of the French are worried about the European internal market and only 36 per cent favour priority for political integration in Western Europe.

Annoyance with M. Dumas' Vienna speech is thus a warning politicians in Paris and Bonn would do well to heed.

Unless the economic upsets the internal market will inevitably trigger an soon offset by political links, the outcome will be a Western Europe at loggerheads, not a united Western Europe.

There will then be very much deep divides between France and the Federal Republic than different disarmament zones in a negotiating concept for Vienna talks.

Christoph Bertram

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 17 March 1989)

The 'intellectual architecture' is key to ties

report for 1988, in good condition. Professor Weidenfeld, who took over his role as coordinator from state secretaries Hildegard Hamm-Brücher and Berndt von Staden, refers in this connection to a number of promising factors.

Are traditional friendly relations between Bonn and Washington gradually coming adrift? "In assessments of the position and outlook for German-American relations," says Werner Weidenfeld, "there have been a number of upsets."

Professor Weidenfeld has been the Bonn government's coordinator of German-American cooperation in societal, cultural and informational affairs since October 1987.

Professor Weidenfeld, who holds the chair of political science at Mainz University, concludes that: "A sense of political and historical proportion is needed on both sides of the Atlantic."

The starting-point was his diagnosis. As power passes from one generation to the next "vital interest in Europe is on the decline and vice-versa."

At the same time the economic attraction of the Pacific basin has wielded its spell on leading US businessmen.

Last not least, the intellectual distance between America and Germany is on the increase. Fewer and fewer leading US academics have close ties with German arts and science.

"But we will soon be setting up a German-American Academy for the Humanities and Social Sciences," he proudly notes. German bodies are sounding out the alternatives in Bonn.

He expects "the first phase of practical implementation" to be early next year.

There are also plans for a bilateral research and scholarship programme, a new scholarship scheme for future American leaders and the promotion of three interdisciplinary centres for German and European studies in the United States.

The future of this friendship will be determined by whether we succeed in keeping the intellectual architecture of the friendship alive among successor generations."

Professor Weidenfeld, whose work as Bonn government coordinator is in a strictly honorary capacity, takes a most optimistic view of the prospects. Despite a number of irritations, German-American relations are, he says in his annual

year cross the Atlantic and see for themselves, with financial backing from the German Federal government, "how the other half lives."

Ties of friendship, Professor Weidenfeld says, must be extended even further across the generation gap. Which is why he has called on the *Länder*, or Federal states, to back similar schemes.

He has already met with a positive response from the state assemblies of Westphalia, Hesse, and Mainz, Rhine-Palatinate.

He plans to confer with US Secretary of State James Baker on how best to improve the social and cultural status of US service personnel and their families in Germany.

First and foremost he would like to German language-teaching lent every encouragement.

A new concept for public relations work by Bonn in the United States is for discussion at the Foreign Office. A more direct approach to the general public, direct dialogue with ordinary Americans, is to be sought.

One fact must certainly not be overlooked. It is that by the year 2010 the majority of US citizens will no longer be European exiles.

"That," Professor Weidenfeld says, "naturally be accompanied by oriental problems.

Günther Klemm

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 2 March 1989)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Christian Democrats' post mortems begin after another election setback

It is ages since leading Christian Democrats were as taciturn as they were on the morning after the heavy losses they suffered at the polls in local government elections in Hesse and, in particular, Frankfurt.

The results were so depressing that they were virtually at a loss for words.

Labour Minister Norbert Blüm, who is usually never at a loss for a snappy comment, steered well clear of the waiting cameramen in the lobby of the Konrad-Adenauer-Haus, the CDU's head office in Bonn.

There would be no point in attaching local blame to what is so clearly a widespread trend and turning-point for which the CDU/CSU as a whole must bear the blame.

Support for the political centre seems, at least potentially, to be waning away, and the SPD is equally affected by the trend away from the two major parties.

Christian Democrat Bernhard Vogel, ex-Premier of the Rhineland-Palatinate, says this ground can only be regained if the CDU/CSU does all it can to regain its inner credibility.

The Christian Democrats, he somewhat agonisingly said, must now "stand firm and work hard."

They may have been prepared on the quiet for further losses after their poor performance in Berlin at the end of January, but CDU leaders in Bonn showed even greater signs of shock than might have been expected.

A number of them had been hoping against hope that the forthright way in which Berlin SPD leader Walter Momper had agreed to coalition terms with the Alternative List might have the requisite deterrent effect on Hesse voters.

He was certainly how the Bavarian CSU viewed the situation, feeling that Christian Democrats must only show clear signs of a sound right-wing outlook to dispel doubts and ensure a heavy turnout of voters.

The turnout was fine: 78.1 per cent in urban and 79.2 per cent in rural areas.

But CDU head office must have been most upset that voters the Hesse CDU under Alfred Dregger had weaned away from the SPD so misinterpreted the CDU's election manifesto this time.

On more than one occasion CDU leader Helmut Kohl and CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler had announced that the right-wing NPD, reduced to insignificance, was as dead as the dodo — due to their domestic policies.

To their horror they now find that not only the NPD but also the Republicans, another right-wing party led by Bavarian Franz Schöpfer, are promptly showing the "Free" Démocrates a clean pair of heels wherever they stand — at the first time of asking.

This was a turn of events not even Herr Geissler had foreseen.

Stated opponents of the CDU general secretary's markedly right-wing approach were naturally no less upset.

A man-like the head of the CDU small business's association and outgoing Berlin Economic Affairs Senator Elmar Pieroth, who plans to advise Chancellor Kohl to clearly change his policy, is no longer sure whether the party's abysmal showing at the polls in Hesse can be dismissed as a mere warning shot.

After strong initial words he has backed down more than once. It is far from easy to give the Liberals a facelift after years of relative mediocrity under Herr Bangemann without plunging the Bonn coalition into further panic.

For Count Lambsdorff, as for previous FDP leaders, the way ahead seems

tuation" he planned to "draw his conclusions" without delay — and not just in relation to government policy priorities.

He is now prepared to give specific consideration to a reshuffle, but it is hard to see how he can get it all over with before the next election deadlines.

The only definite point is his stated intention of giving housing a shot in the arm. He plans to do so retroactively and at some expense, yet without upsetting the balance of Bonn government finances.

He can now be sure to have the bucking of the Free Democrats on this point; they are shivering on board the same boat as the CDU.

Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg will hardly dare to refuse cash to bail out the Bonn coalition. Yet it is hard to believe that the short-term result will be a nationwide swing of the pendulum in the CDU/CSU's favour.

Doubts are evidently gnawing at even imperturbable Chancellor Kohl's self-confidence. He has volunteered the information that time is growing increasingly short for him and his government.

In 46 months, he says, the single European market will be set up, and the Federal Republic must not be allowed to grow unfit to face the future.

Meanwhile the CDU/CSU faces its next test at the polls on 18 June, when local government elections will be held in the Rhineland-Palatinate and the Saarland and elections to the European

Parliament will be held nationwide. This deadline — and the election results — now assumes a new dimension in terms of both domestic and foreign affairs.

Helmut Kohl in Bonn and Walter Wallmann in Hesse are not denying that it is primarily for the CDU/CSU to stem the tide of growing support for right-wing extremists.

With the year 2000 none too distant no Bonn head of government can afford to have two extreme right-wing parties both with double-digit potential support.

The xenophobia to which that might lend expression could prove "fatal" for a country in the Federal Republic's position, the Chancellor admits.

The Christian Democrats are unlikely to succeed in changing this state of affairs as long as the CDU and the CSU are so at odds over the inferences to be drawn as CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler and CSU Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann were after the Hesse elections.

Herr Geissler had no difficulty in identifying Herr Zimmermann as the culprit. On the eve of the Hesse elections parliamentary state secretary Carl-Dieter Spranger of the Interior Ministry had condemned the German bishops yet failed to streamline the procedures used for asylum applicants at Zirndorf, the reception centre near Nuremberg.

Herr Zimmermann promptly returned the compliment, saying Herr Geissler was no able to find his way around the "system of coordinates."

He evidently needed even more blows of the kind suffered by the CDU in Berlin and Hesse before he grasped the situation.

Egbert Mörlitz

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 March 1989)

condition chaos. He ought to feel he has better things to do than to back propaganda of this kind. If he wants to drive a wedge between the SPD and the Alternatives he will certainly need to set about it more skilfully.

Herr Genscher stands for a school of thought that advises the FDP to state its case in a multi-party society more independently of the two major parties.

The FDP leader in the Bonn Cabinet feels the coalition with the CDU/CSU in Bonn will be at the end of the road once the "basic axis" of German politics is "bent" from the Liberal viewpoint.

A coalition to which the FDP is a party must, Herr Genscher says, be a coalition of the centre. He feels the CDU/CSU is drifting to the right, whereas the SPD is not (!) drifting

■ THE NATION

Worries about what is happening in Berlin

The writer of this article, Shepard Stone, was director of the Aspen Institute, Berlin, from 1974 to 1988. He now teaches at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, in Cambridge, Mass.

You don't need to be either a German or born on the River Spree to feel yourself to be a "Berliner." Yet nowadays we "Berliners" outside Berlin are having trouble. Just what is going on in the city?

Berlin is not the only city with serious problems. Job worries and unemployment, housing shortage, social grievances, narcotics, the influx of social outsiders and environmental destruction are universal phenomena.

Politicians everywhere are having to seek solutions or run the risk of being made jobless themselves at the next elections.

Yet in New York, Paris and London the quest for solutions is still undertaken within the framework of reality. Experience has shown that despite the shortcomings of the democratic system there is none better.

Washington is not worried but somewhat concerned about developments in Berlin. No-one yet knows what significance the SPD-Green coalition will have for Berlin and for the Federal Republic.

US government officials are more worried than has so far been noted by public opinion about the Republicans, the extreme right-wing party that polled over seven per cent in the 29 January elections to the Berlin House of Representatives.

Sixteen years ago another party, the NPD, originating — like the Republicans — in Munich, roused similar emotions.

In Berlin and in the Federal Republic there are clear signs of a German peculiarity. Every 40 or 50 years the German soul begins to palpitate. Dreams and emotions, mixed with hatred of outsiders, encourage a flight into uncertainty.

Berlin is on the border between East and West. That is why it must continue to be an international city. It has many opportunities.

BERLIN

opportunities: as an East-West trade turnstile, as a cultural magnet (which it was in the 1920s), and as an open city in which everything can be attempted, much can be dismissed and much done to make it one of the glories of Europe again.

They are not just impressed by Germany's economic success story. Many also hold the democratic institutions, the welfare system and freedom of the press in the Federal Republic in high esteem.

They see West Germany as a crucial partner in the Western community. And some, if not all, realise that Bonn is bound, on account of the country's geographical location and the division of Germany and Berlin, to be keen on special relations with the Soviet Union and with Eastern Europe.

Americans also know that most Germans today were not born until after the Hitler era and are not to blame for Nazi crimes.

Yet they would like to see Germans a little more aware of their history, and that is why there is a sense of upset about a number of tendencies at both ends of the political spectrum.

There are felt to be clear signs, in Berlin and in the Federal Republic, that foreigners and applicants for asylum are being cast in the role of scapegoats and whipping

boys for German domestic problems — just as Hitler did with the Jews.

Nevertheless, even "Berliners" living outside Berlin are convinced that the city will cope with the present crisis, hopefully upholding the principles on which its existence is based:

- the monopoly of power enjoyed by the state;
- commitment to the status of Berlin and to the Allied presence;
- maintenance of legal unity with the Federal Republic.

These principles underscore the fact that Berlin's future is an international and not a local concern.

Hitler, whose birth centenary will hopefully not be celebrated by anyone this year, is to blame for the future of Berlin not being a matter for Berliners and other Germans alone but for Europeans, Russians and Americans.

It is important for the people of Berlin to quietly reconsider their position and their future, especially in an era of which the keynote is likely to be greater East-West detente but fresh tension within Eastern Europe.

The Berliners and their politicians could benefit from the objective work on the future of the city at Berlin research facilities such as the Aspen Institute.

Forty-five years after the war there are naturally a number of status rights which are outdated and ought to be scrapped by the Western Allies, but in principle the Allied presence in Berlin is essential for the security and democratic future of the city, especially in today's complex East-West situation.

The West too unquestionably has interests of its own in Berlin, but these relations may well change in the decades to come.

Such changes must be worked out quietly and in full awareness of common interests. Adventurous flights of fancy are something the world has in plenty.

Berlin is on the border between East and West. That is why it must continue to be an international city. It has many opportunities.

Defence Secretary Stimson was impressed and took him on in 1939 as a counter-espionage expert at the Pentagon.

From 1941 to 1945 he was under-secretary in charge of the lease-lend programme for America's allies.

In 1945 he arrived in Germany with the occupying forces as head of the Civil Affairs Division.

His first direct intervention in the course of events was to prevent the destruction of Rothenburg ob der Tauber when the advancing US forces encountered Wehrmacht resistance in the picturesque mediaeval town.

He was president of the World Bank for two years, then sent back to Germany by President Truman as US-high commissioner and military governor.

He came back at a crucial juncture in the post-war period. The Soviet blockade of Berlin had just been abandoned in the face of Western Allied determination and the staying power of the people of Berlin.

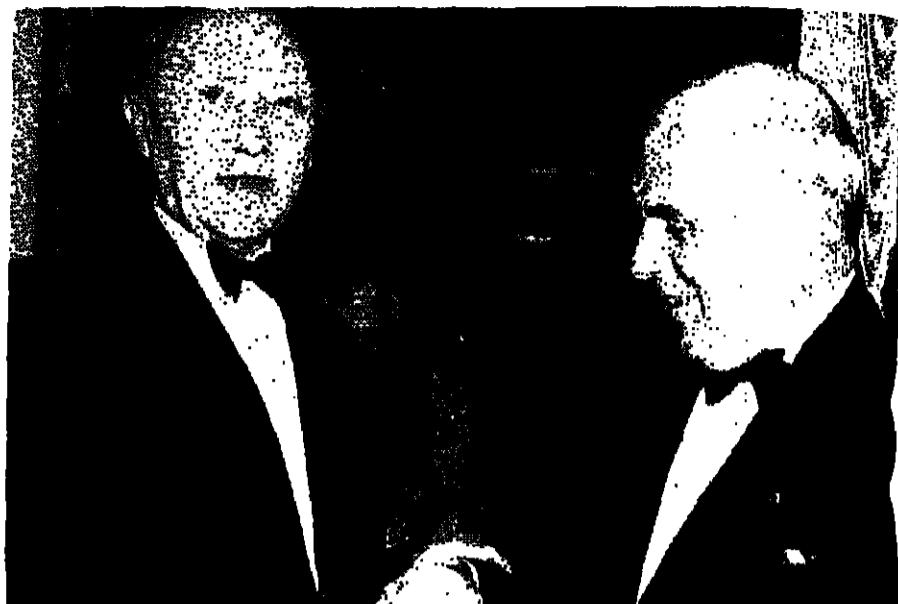
A new political future needed to be mapped out for the former Reich capital and the emerging Federal Republic of Germany.

That could only be successfully accomplished jointly by the Germans and the Western Allies — America, Britain and France.

For the sake of the city's well-being this must continue to be the case.

Shepard Stone

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 17 March 1989)



Farewell party. Chancellor Adenauer (left) says goodbye to high commissioner McCloy in 1962.

■ PERSPECTIVE

The man on the Clapham omnibus is far from raising a cheer for Europe

Frankfurter Allgemeine

In the 3/89 supplement to the Bonn weekly newspaper *Das Parlament*, Angelika Volle outlines "Great Britain's transition from a reluctant outsider to an awkward partner in the European Community."

"Why do the British have such difficulty in coming to terms with the Continent, of which the United Kingdom forms a part (of what else, when all is said and done)?"

Frau Volle concludes that ties between Whitehall and the European Community bear the hallmark of a trauma with regard to the loss of British sovereignty.

"In that debate German consciousness was much more marked than British," he writes, "even though statistical data showed the crisis to be much more deep-seated in Britain than in the Federal Republic."

"In specialist discussions German observers most worriedly referred to the vale of tears of British unemployment, strikes, inflation, current account deficits, mass conflicts and the civil war in Northern Ireland, while a number of British colleagues dismissed this as typically German pessimism."

"There was no such thing as a crisis of the British state. The country was as stable as ever. All that could be said was that the British economy had grown a little more slowly than the French and German economies, but this was not a recent phenomenon, dating back to the late 19th century."

"That is why Mrs Thatcher, asked last year whether she could imagine most social and economic decisions ever being transferred to Brussels, frankly said she could in no circumstances imagine any such thing."

"Europe consisted of different countries that cooperated. No less, but no more."

"Does British public opinion take a more favourable view of Europe than the British government?" Frau Volle says all British Cabinets since 1973, when Britain joined the Community, have been a failure.

"When I was, I was told that the Chancellor refused to come in. I went out of the door, looked at him and said: 'I know how you feel. It must be like Canossa for you.'

"Adenauer looked amazed. He was surprised that an American knew enough about European history to appreciate what Canossa stood for. My remark had broken the ice. He came in and it was the beginning of a long friendship."

The Americans, who were initially based in the old IG Farben head office in Frankfurt, then moved to the new US embassy building in Bonn, were confident under McCloy that the new German state would develop satisfactorily.

By 1952 McCloy had provided for \$1bn in Marshall Aid to be invested in the Federal Republic.

He was one of the first to see the need for a German defence contribution in joint Western framework. He played a leading role in the framing and signing of the May 1952 treaty between Bonn and the Western Allies.

There were two keynotes to McCloy's political views in this period: the need to restore German unity and solidarity with Berlin as a "symbol of freedom for the whole world."

When he returned to America in July 1952 he left behind a pledge: "A major aim of American policy is to see the German people reunited, and we will do everything we can to ensure that it is."

John J. McCloy, a Freeman of Berlin, remained true to this pledge in many functions in later life.

Carl-Christian Kaiser
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 13 March 1989)

many's. "The mother country of industrialisation, with an empire that spanned the globe only a few decades ago, is now trailing all comparable industrialised countries, including Italy."

Despite North Sea oil and market economic initiatives by the Thatcher government there were no signs of whether and when Britain might regain lost ground.

The British crisis lay deeply rooted in British society; it was an "epoch-making fissure in the country's historic development" and considerably influenced the way the British saw themselves today.

Where did the British crisis originate? Is it a result of decolonialisation, of world market changes, of competition?

Krieger writes that the Thatcher government has demonstrated how overestimated trade union power in Britain used to be. He seems to feel the British mentality accounts for the present crisis.

"But Hitler as a politician had a devastating effect on me: vague, unclear, lacking in *Realpolitik* vision and with no clearly outlined target."

"He feels himself to be a political prophet who paints certain visions of the future in enthusiastic abandon."

Simpendorfer's contemporary appraisal is reprinted in the 1/89 issue of the *Zeitungshauszeitung*.

We have a new breed of political prophets today with vague ideas and lacking in appreciation of the framework conditions of German policy yet filled with enthusiasm and emotion, and they are fast growing in number.

Armin Boring
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 13 March 1989

The motive of national prestige or, put another way, of equal rights — the bid to secure for the German Reich an "appropriate status and reputation" in the European system of states and the world of those days — was to prove fatal.

The Germans, Schöllgen writes, pursued their world affairs on a fairly modest scale when compared with the extensive conquests of Britain or France.

But viewed from Britain or France they appeared threateningly persistent.

The Germans misled themselves about the impression they made. They were indignant at being said to be dangerous.

How was this self-delusion possible? In brief, because they tended, particularly in foreign affairs, to dream, to succumb to wishful thinking, to pursue emotional policies rather than to rely on common sense and a calm, level-headed view of the situation.

That was the case under Kaiser Wilhelm. It recurred under the Führer.

After a conversation with Hitler, who in many ways was very typical of his fellow-countrymen, Wilhelm Simpendorfer noted in 1932 that:

"My overall impression is that Hitler was personally pleasant throughout the conversation, apart from a pose he at times adopted."

"But Hitler as a politician had a devastating effect on me: vague, unclear, lacking in *Realpolitik* vision and with no clearly outlined target."

"He feels himself to be a political prophet who paints certain visions of the future in enthusiastic abandon."

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states, said German journalist Robert Leicht, reporting on the proceedings of his working party.

In keeping with the agreed rules of the conference he named no names, merely outlining views that had been voiced.

If Mrs Thatcher had been a member of his working party, he felt, she would never have made her Bruges speech. No-one had advocated dissolution of the nation-state.

Constantly recurring points included the lack of a perceptible link between political decisions and personal life, the failure so far to convince people of the need for a united Europe, and the call for a "Europe of efficiency but warmheartedness."

Greater attention was future to be paid to environmental protection and the social dimension.

Only an hour was allocated to the *Historikerstreit*, or dispute between German historians over the Third Reich. It was just enough for two statements and two speeches — even though several of the historians in question were present.

More than enough suggestions were made for subjects to discuss at next year's 40th anniversary conference in Cambridge.

Chancellor Kohl and Mrs Thatcher both plan to attend and are considering combining it with their regular consultations.

Regina Krieger
General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 13 March 1989

Surprising lack of controversy at Königswinter

Surprising lack of controversy at Königswinter

MONEY

The credit-card society is on the way

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

The days of banknotes, coins and cheques are soon to come to an end for the Federal Republic's 4,500 banks and savings banks.

If bankers have their way, this country will become a credit-card country: the most common means of payment will be the plastic card crossed by a dark magnetic stripe.

After some tough negotiating about concept and price the banks and their subsidiary, the Society for Payment Systems, have agreed to go into plastic credit cards. It is a form of payment not so widely used as in the USA, France and Britain, for instance.

There are about a million Eurocards in circulation here. The annual fee used to be DM100 but since February this has been cut by DM40.

A Golden Eurocard has been launched on the market as well, costing DM130 per year, useful for travellers and businessmen.

Every bank may now have its own name on the card and offer auxiliary benefits; however, all have abstained from taking this up for the time being.

The new Eurocards are standard cards and have just one purpose — the extension of the plastic credit card to the masses.

About 22 million West Germans have for a long time been used to paying with their Eurocheque cards. According to estimates by the banks there is room in the country like the Federal Republic for seven million credit cards and the chance of the sale of a further five million.

Until now there have been 984,000 Eurocards in circulation in the Federal Republic, about 700,000 American Express cards and 340,000 Diners Club cards.

Visa is the toughest competitor to the Eurocard umbrella organisation Mastercard. After long, fruitless negotiations for a cooperation agreement German credit cards ignominiously gave up.

Visa claims to have 330,000 customers, which the banks doubt, believing the figure is more likely 270,000.

Everyone in the market will profit from the credit card boom. Jürgen Terrahe is a member of the Commerzbank executive board and chairman of the supervisory board of the Society for Payment Systems. He believes that an additional million customers could be attracted to take up Eurocards in 1989.

Jan Hendrikx of Visa International hopes to interest a "major group of cooperative credit institutions" in his organisation, apart from the eleven German banks already involved in Visa.

Hendrikx is certain that there will be a million Visa cards in circulation in the Federal Republic by the end of the year, although, since the breakdown of negotiations with the Society for Payment Systems, Visa must convince each bank individually of its own advantages and the disadvantages of the Eurocard, linked to Mastercard.

But Visa has had a major success. From the middle of May ADAC, the West German

motoring club, will offer its own Visa-linked card for DM45.

The Society for Payment Systems had had its eyes on the ADAC card.

The traditional credit card organisations, Diners Club and American Express, are convinced that consumers will quickly discover the weak points of Eurocard and Visa and will then turn to their cards.

The Cologne-based General Association of the German Retail Trade and the German Hotel and Restaurant Association can see their chance here.

A court case, instigated by the banks, against their "Deutsche Kreditkarte" and the hotels association, almost thwarted their plans.

Although the intention is to defend the complaint about the "Deutsche Kreditkarte" name or "DKK" for short, to the very highest court, it will be impossible to launch the card with this name.

Due to the court case and the concept behind this credit card, which is so like the Eurocard, the retail trade feels unsure, but the low commission retail traders will have to pay a considerable attraction.

The banks have made a survey of some of their clients. Judging by reactions everyone is longing to get their hands on the new plastic cards.

The North Rhine-Westphalia giro bank, which has distributed so far 8,000 Eurocards and which has now done an about-face to Visa, will distribute 100,000 of their cards over the next three years starting mid-March, each card costing DM60.

Major banks such as the Commerzbank believe they can double the number of their Eurocard customers. The savings banks plan to distribute 450,000 new Eurocards.

This boom has not only awakened appetites for business but also aroused aggressions. The Society for Payment Systems regards Visa as a "fatalemer." Visa officials say of Eurocard: "They have just copied us."

Among bankers DKK is regarded as "a bad joke" because of the simplicity of its concept, while retail traders complain of Eurocard managers as "swindlers" because of their commission demands.

This kind of scrapping between the various credit card organisations can only be to the advantage of the bank customer.

Under pressure from the Monopolies Commission all bank cash-dispensers in the Federal Republic must be geared to accept Eurocheque cards, Eurocards and Visa cards equally.

It is only a matter of time before American Express and Diners Club cards can be used at all cashpoints.

Quarrelling about the effectiveness, costs and data processing systems should not interest consumers who want to pay with credit cards at the point of sale; abbreviated to POS.

As more and more customers want to pay with their credit card the more supermarket chains and shops generally will be put under pressure to accommodate this consumer requirement.

Major banks are already making plans to handle credit card business under their own management, when the contract with the Society for Payment Systems terminates in two years' time.

Then the Society will no longer handle credit card turnover but the banks themselves — a business which begins to become profitable after 300,000 cards have been distributed.

Commerzbank "director" Herbert Droege believes it would be impossible now to halt the trend to credit cards. He said: "It is like the change over from the horse to the steam engine — at first no-one wanted that."

Agricultural credit cooperatives are offering their customers' information

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 4 March 1989)

Demand for information widens role of banks

Five years ago you would never have dreamt how dramatically banking would change," said Knut Neuss, director of Deutsche Bank's business information department. He was not exaggerating.

Five years ago banks and savings banks were more-or-less pure financial houses whose activities were fundamentally limited to handling deposits, offering credits, dealing in shares and foreign currency.

Today they are involved in a lot more than money and interest rates. The computer fair in Hanover, CeBIT, shows this clearly.

The bank today is an organisation offering comprehensive information and advice, including information about matters which are not directly involved in banking.

Banking has an enormous information requirement as new business opportunities are revealed and exploited.

Information, stored in super-computers and offered to clients for a fee, has become a decisive competitive factor and a new source of income.

The meteoric technical progress in electronic data processing is making this possible. The new magical expression in German banking circles is "electronic banking."

Demonstrating how this electronic service worked, Neuss quoted the example of a printing works which had to invest to prevent environmental pollution by its industrial effluents.

Solution

A technical solution to the problem was sought in the bank's patent databank, and the solution's reputation enquired about in the market and the price checked.

In the next databank 50 environmental protection programmes were looked into to see if they qualified for public grants, so as eventually to scrutinise the effect of the investment on the balance sheet.

There was also a programme to increase turnover in certain cases and tips as to how the company could be more effectively organised.

According to Neuss the solution to the whole complex of problems cost "not as much as DM2,500," including payment for an external "information broker," the Heidelberg firm online, and the bank computers fed by specialists from the university.

Thanks to state subsidies, which the computer had shown how to apply for, the investment was a few per cent cheaper. Furthermore a considerable proportion of expenditure on materials and personnel could be covered by the company itself.

Neuss said that the bank gained from its "active information marketing;" the new service could also contribute to making credit decisions.

The Deutsche Bank has been at the last four computer fairs in Hanover, and savings banks have also been regular participants. People's banks and agricultural credit cooperatives are also getting together and going on the electronic offensive.

Agricultural credit cooperatives are offering their customers' information

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 March 1989)

MOTORING

Daimler-Benz unveils new image-polishing roadster

Rumours and pictures

"Mercedes-Benz is now hitting back," said the company's press spokesman, Herr Kleinert, with reference to the three versions of the SL on show at Geneva.

They are intended to spearhead the new overall Mercedes concept and regain the lead in the European market. But what is so special about the new model?

It comes in an initial choice of three engines: the six-cylinder, three-litre, 190-hp engine; the six-cylinder, four-valve, 231-hp engine (in the 300 SL-24); and the eight-cylinder, four-valve, five-litre, 326-hp engine (in the 500 SL).

All versions of the Mercedes-Benz SL are fitted with standard three-way catalytic converters (in a new and improved design).

A mechanical and electronic injection device supplies the lambda probe with extra heat, monitors the exhaust return system and ensures ventilation of the active carbon container.

The Stuttgart carmakers had for too long been criticised for making good but conservative cars, with the result that the glamour of the Mercedes star logo was losing a little of its cachet both in Germany and around the world.

But the new model is entirely in keeping with Gottlieb Daimler's ambition to manufacture "the best or nothing" — in Germany, in Europe and worldwide.

Extra safety is provided by an electronic over-roll bar, normally recessed in front of the hood box, that is automatically activated in dangerous situations.

Driving "topless" is what makes a roadster such fun. All versions of the new SL have an electronic soft top that can be raised from or returned to (and locked) in its hood box in 30 seconds by pushing a button.

The SL certainly stole the show on the opening day of the Geneva auto saloon. From the moment the doors opened the Daimler-Benz stand was besieged by press photographers from all over the world.

Joachim W. Reijerath

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 19 March 1989)



Just the thing to go shopping in.

(Photo: Daimler-Benz)

A new generation of integrated seats has been incorporated in the new SL to ensure the comfort and well-being of driver and passengers.

Belt height and headrest position are electronically linked, and the belt is automatically tightened. A sports car can now be said to fully equal the passenger safety rating of an up-market family saloon.

An initial 20,000 SLs a year are to run off the latest Daimler-Benz assembly lines in Bremen.

The SL certainly stole the show on the opening day of the Geneva auto saloon.

The electronics is naturally the latest and best: ABS anti-blocking brake system, ASR cumulative drive and the new ADS adaptive absorber system.

The latter automatically adjusts shock absorbers to one of four settings best suited to the road surface and driving conditions.

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■ EXHIBITIONS

The making of a personality, an artist and a woman as well

General Anzeiger

Crossing frontiers of one kind or another characterised Paula Modersohn-Becker's whole life.

She had to surmount the limitations imposed on her as a woman, the limitations in her role as woman in middle-class society at the turn of the century, to master her art.

She also had to break away from the limitations of Worpswede (an art colony near Bremen, established in 1889) and the artistic circles there to live a free life in Paris and get to know modern art. And finally she had to overcome the lines dividing the 19th and 20th centuries.

The boundary, the rupture cut through her personality as a painter even, as well as her being as a woman and an artist.

This problem has only been described analytically and questioned in the new women's movement of the 1970s, but Paula Modersohn-Becker recorded in those years, in her work as an artist and in her letters and diaries, that she was aware of this incompatibility, that she was one of the pioneers of a woman's right to live her own life.

An exhibition is being mounted in Worpswede to celebrate the art colony's 100th anniversary. This exhibition will show (starting on 18 March) just how extensive her work was despite her early death.

When we look at her pictures we see these frontiers, boundaries and limitations which passed through the very centre of her being.

An individual identity in terms of living and art was not (yet) possible. This rupture is particularly noticeable in her self-portraits.

Take, for example, her self-portrait done in Paris in 1900. On New Year's Eve 1899 she broke away from the security of her family and the tranquillity of Worpswede to give herself up to the free life and the artistic stimulation of Paris — following the example of her friend, the sculptress Clara Rilke-Westhoff.

This was the first turning point in her life and traces of it can be seen in this self-portrait.

She was born in Dresden in 1876. Her family was upper-class: her father extremely patriarchal, her mother protective and full of drive.

She was given painting lessons when she was 16 and in London. She continued her studies in Bremen; her family had moved there in the meantime.

She was forced by her father to finish her examinations to be a teacher so that she could be financially independent. It did not seem conceivable that the art produced by a woman could offer any guarantee of an income.

Paula's mother supported her actively and emotionally. She did this perhaps because she had lived all her life in the service of her family and nurtured the hope that she would find a kind of freedom through her children.

She was a constantly dependable companion to Paula, but not the model of a modern woman who has decided to lead her own life.

It is not surprising then that Paula finally took the path her mother had shown her.

After her courageous attempt to find freedom in marriage, following her mother's example, she sought support from her husband and in motherhood.

The tragedy of her destiny was that at the focal point of this role, at the birth of her first child, awaited with such longing, she had to die at the age of 31.

Paris was her first encounter with a foreign world, and she was constantly drawn towards Paris from then on.

She needed the refreshing stimulation of Paris: this was just as essential to her life as her links to Worpswede.

It is not surprising then that she found herself electrified by Paris but at the same time made to feel insecure.

Painting her self-portrait might well have been an attempt to orient herself in the world far from her father's rule, remaining true to herself even though she had crossed over a frontier.

In the self-portrait she found a dramatic means of examining in detail the question: who am I and whom shall I become?

Time and again in her letters and diaries there is the affirmation that something will come out of her, that she will produce something from the path she has chosen to go along.

In her self-portraits she examined whether she had remained true to this. There is a resolute, concentrated gravity in all her self-portraits. The glance is the vivid centre of the person, who conquers her world with her eyes.

There is also scepticism, with which she regards with appropriate restraint her difficult role as an artist.

Even as a child she did not feel she was understood, her artistic will was not recognised.

There is in her self-portrayals a suppressed sadness, as if she knew how transitory her life was, and life generally — a thought which appears early in her diary.

Her will to live seemed strengthened by the self-portraits, as for example in the self-portrait painted against blossoming trees, dating from 1902.

Although this picture is charming and appealing, there is nothing vain or complaisant in it.

Rather it shows, as in the other self-

portraits, how she tried to achieve a unity in herself, to resolve an extreme craving in the artistic figure. She set herself a goal, perhaps because she lacked recognition in her life. Her husband was a person whose respect she particularly valued. There are many unsettling entries in her diary about him though.

He deplored that Paula "hated the conventional," and did everything "rather in an angular, ugly, bizarre, wooden way." He said that she painted "hands like spoons, noses like beaks, mouths like wounds, expressions cretinously." And she also did not take advice.

Paula longed to explore new artistic possibilities. She wanted to measure her own artistic course against that taken by others, and for that she needed support.

There was no-one to give her this support, not in Paris nor Worpswede. There was also no specific female tradition to which she could have turned.

She regarded herself as fortunate that her teacher at the Berlin School of Painting and Drawing was Jeanne Bauck. The fundamentals of her approach to art and her self-confident appearance impressed Paula considerably.

Obviously it was not easy for her to meet women in life with whom she could identify.

She read the diary of the Russian artist Maria Bashkirtseff (1860-1884). There she came across the expression "sister soul," which became a perfect example of an understanding of people.

The paradox is the solitariness in which she was left with her longing.

Other semi-nude pictures followed studies for a bold self-portrait completely nude.

This was an innovation in the history of art: a woman not as an object but as a subject idealised by the male, but a woman who has made herself the subject of her own creation, using her own being and own corporeality.

This corresponds to what she said about the same time in a letter to Rainer Maria Rilke: "I am I."

Paula Modersohn-Becker was not only emancipated in her person but also in her aesthetic demands. She traversed the standards of male art in her self-portraits. She has had an influence both on the FDP and on art. In the 1970s, female painters have latched on to the idea that they have used their bodies as a medium of expression.

American writer and feminist Adrienne Rich wrote a poem about the friendship between Paula Becker and Clara Westhoff, visualising the future solidarity of women artists.

Paula Modersohn-Becker became regarded as a pioneer, she, who looked earnestly for female examples to follow.

In her pictures she intimately shared with us the female experiences of birth and death, creation and transgression.

In this way she successfully balanced out the contradictions and opened up a new path for a female view of aesthetics.

"I have always said, long before I stood for party leader, that the FDP must not degenerate into a party of business interests — and those were my exact words."

Udo Bergdolt

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 9 March 1989)



Who am I? Self portrait with amber necklace, 1902

(Photo: C. G. Hartung)

she early on realised the desperation of her wooing of Clara.

In the end she not only gave up friendship but also the hope of any independence, such as Clara had found.

Paula Modersohn-Becker was manifestly not prepared to be alone as a woman.

Her self-portraits spanned those developmental stages in which she found finally her own powers of expression.

She painted many self-portraits in difficult years 1906/1907. In her writing on the other hand, she became more withdrawn, as it she had gradually found her true form of expression.

The self-portrait, done on the 10th anniversary of her marriage, shows herself semi-nude. She is pregnant. The body is displayed as a tender, precious receptacle, not only for the bearing of children but for art.

Hartung was labelled by the Nazis as "degenerate." He emigrated to France in 1935 and joined the Foreign Legion, fighting for the French at Belfort, where he lost a leg.

With his second wife, the Norwegian painter Anne-Eva Bergmann, Hartung moved to an idyllic spot at Antibes on the Côte d'Azur in 1972.

He now lives alone in a wheelchair amidst a pack of huge dogs, surrounded by his paintings. (His wife died after being attacked by one of the dogs last year.)

Hartung's collection is regarded as a goldmine. He exchanged paintings with his world-famous artist friends — Picasso, Chagall, Rohlfs, Braque, Lhote and others.

Continued from page 3

issue for the Bonn coalition. For Count Lambsdorff this may not be the case.

The strategy debate within the FDP was certainly not made any less heated by Count Lambsdorff's views on short-range missile "modernisation" as voiced in a recent interview with the Hamburg newsweekly *Der Spiegel*.

He drew such subtle distinctions that it was virtually impossible to infer what views, if any, he holds on the subject. Does he want to pacify the CDU/CSU or is he really keen on taking over from Herr Genscher at the Foreign Office?

This is a fact it cannot conceal from potential conservative supporters. No less a Free Democrat than Count Lambsdorff, who is felt to represent the laissez faire economic wing of the Free Democrats, is on record as having said:

"I have always said, long before I stood for party leader, that the FDP must not degenerate into a party of business interests — and those were my exact words."

Udo Bergdolt

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 9 March 1989)

■ THE ARTS

From doodling to tachisme: a home wanted for a collection

Lothar Späth, Prime Minister of Baden-Württemberg, regularly hits the headlines with arts projects. His latest idea is to assemble a collection of paintings by Hans Hartung, a pioneer of action painting. Experts estimate that the Hartung collection is worth DM400 million. Hartung is now 84 and lives in Antibes, surrounded by 200 paintings — not all of them his own.

He built up his collection with his credo: "I like art which is something different to my own paintings."

In this way he acquired a collection of important artworks of the classical-moderns, apart from his own works, and including five sculptures by the Spanish artist Julio González, whose daughter, Roberta, was Hartung's first wife.

Now, in his old age, Hartung wants to place his own paintings in a museum devoted to his work. Hartung mused so much so speak.

How difficult it is to do this is demonstrated by the snub given to collector Lothar-Günther Buchheim by the Bavarian Science Minister Wolfgang Wild.

Buchheim wants to house his important collection of artworks in a "Buchheim Museum" on the Starnberger See.

Two years ago the Munich art-dealer Rolf Kallenberg, one of Hartung's friends, called at the Bavarian Chancellery, to offer the Bavarian state Hartung's collection: or more accurately a half of his collection, the artist wants to bequeath the other half to France, his second home.

The Bavarians were interested, particularly Franz Josef Strauss and his then intimate friend, Renate Piller.

Ronald Leitner of the Bavarian Chancellery said: "There was a plan to

open up a museum at Kochel am See for Hartung's collection."

He said that there was serious consideration given to the plan, three pavilions covering 1,200 square metres, costing DM20 million.

Hartung would not have been alone at Kochel am See; there is also a Franz Marc Museum there.

The plan did not get very far,

although the contracts between Strauss and Hartung became ever more close — the Bavarians gave him the Order of the Federal Republic of Germany which was presented to him in his holiday resort Grasse.

The man who put the brakes on the plan was then Bavarian Finance Minister, Max Streibl (CSU). He is now the Prime Minister of Bavaria.

Leitner said that there was still an interest in the project. Science Minister Wild wrote a letter along these lines to Hartung — but with Strauss's death there was no longer anyone in Munich who was prepared to follow the plan through.

Now Lothar Späth has come along with



Hans Hartung (left) with the late Franz Josef Strauss. In 1987.

an offer. His councillor Gönenwein said: "We have an interest in the collection." But he admitted that "we have not yet seen the collection. We must see what the requirements are. We should be open and frank about everything."

Späth intends to build a "Collectors' Museum" in Stuttgart. It is debatable whether there would be room for the Hartung collection in this project.

It is assumed, and this is understandable, that Hartung wants a museum of his own works for future generations.

But officials in Stuttgart are obviously set on bringing the other famous pictures which Hartung has to Stuttgart — pictures from Picasso to Chagall.

This is naturally frustrating for the venerable artist at his home in Antibes. A feel for the diplomatic is needed, psychological sophistication.

If what one hears in Munich about the price for the Hartung collection is true then Späth would not find it easy to say No.

Hartung would like to present a half of his collection valued allegedly at DM120 million to the state of Baden-Württemberg, and in return a museum would be offered to house the collection — certainly not an inexpensive undertaking.

It would cost about a half a million deutschmarks to transfer the collection.

Gönenwein said: "A deed of assignment — not buy them! That would be fantastic."

Späth is now about to find out just how "fantastic" this is. Hartung is not just anyone.

On his 70th birthday on 21 September 1979 he said: "Most artists, if they are good artists, give their best towards the end of their lives." Hartung is a good artist.

Klaus B. Harms

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 4 March 1989)



Hartung's Third of May, 1921-22 in the style of Goya.

(Photo: Catalogue)

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German motorists have without question been the most pollution-conscious in Western Europe ever since European Community Environment Ministers agreed to endorse pollution-controlled cars over five years ago.

Cars with catalytic converters (and other low-pollution models) have been more popular in the Federal Republic of Germany than anywhere else in the Common Market.

Even so, the Bonn government would like to see them even more pollution-conscious. Better late than never, the Federal government now acknowledges a shortcoming critics of the European Community vehicle emission compromise have constantly pilloried.

Statistics may show that the majority of cars newly registered in Germany are pollution-controlled, but most owe this accolade more to the feeble compromise reached in Brussels than to any genuine reduction in the toxin count of their exhaust fumes.

It was a compromise to which the Federal government had no choice but to agree, but the levels agreed are often so low that they can be reached by fairly simple technical means.

Even models that have been marketed for decades comply in some cases with European Community vehicle emission regulations.

The three-way catalytic converter, which is the only really effective means of pollution control, has been fitted to a mere fraction of the new cars that qualify as pollution-controlled in the European Community.

A mere six per cent, or 1.8m of 29m private cars in the Federal Republic, comply with US pollution regulations, which can only be met with the aid of a catalytic converter.

These proposals make headline news,

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Tougher rules on vehicle exhaust emissions mooted

Bonn Environment Minister Klaus Töpfer feels this is not enough, especially as nitric oxide pollution, one cause of the acid rain that has wrought havoc on German forests, is on the increase and has failed to decline, as theoretically expected.

Professor Töpfer, a university economist, plans to go it alone and make catalytic converters mandatory for all new cars in Germany unless the situation improves.

This move, envisaged from 1991, may not be in keeping with European Community law so shortly before the single internal market deadline but, as a Ministry spokeswoman put it, "we should just have to see."

In two years' time the environment policy compromise on pollution control of compact cars agreed last autumn is due to be reappraised.

Last autumn Bonn failed again to prevail on other Community countries to accept its ideas on pollution control. The French in particular were opposed to lower pollution ceilings and threatened to stymie the entire compromise.

In resurrecting the vehicle emission debate the Federal government has run the risk of making car-buyers feel unsure where they stand.

Hardly a weekend now passes without some new idea or other being mooted on how to ensure that all motorists switch to catalytic converters.

These proposals make headline news,

emission control. They still are, neither is likely to change its mind in years ahead. In France, for instance, pollution-controlled cars enjoy no incentive whatever: unleaded fuel costs a fraction more than leaded.

In Britain hopes are set on developing an engine that will comply with emission regulations without needing a catalytic converter to filter toxins out of exhaust fumes.

But this engine cannot possibly go to series production before the end of the century. And "lean" engines made in Japan need catalytic converters to meet US standards.

So Professor Töpfer is out on his own in the European Community, and lacks a clear policy concept, as manufacturers have been quick to note.

"Fine words mustn't be allowed to destroy all the goodwill," says a spokesman for the German motor manufacturers' association.

The Federal Environment Ministry has considered proposing a road tax to be raised throughout the European Community, based on vehicle emission rather than engine size, horse power or any other criterion.

The labyrinth of ideas and proposals has been a traditional feature of the vehicle emission debate. Diesel-owners in particular know to their cost how fast a reputation for environmental cleanliness can deteriorate into the stigma of environmental squalor.

Diesel-engined cars were initially classified as low-pollution and road tax-exempted as an incentive. Those were the days. They have now been pilloried for particle emission that is said to cause cancer. Their tax exemption has been waived and replaced by a higher, penal rate of road tax.

A similar fate may lie in store for cars that were initially classified as low-pollution but meet the unexacting European Community requirements without a catalytic converter.

Twice the Bonn government has been in a position to insist on stricter emission ceilings in the European Community. The Federal Republic is, after all, both the largest motor manufacturer and the largest motor market in the Community.

"We must wait and see," they say, "whether they are accepted by carmakers who are usually very price-conscious in this section of the market."

Walter Winkler
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Rönn, 3 March 1989)

Another proverb has it that to give away the last bulb, let alone clove, of garlic in the house will bring bad luck on the giver.

Garlic stems burnt in the garden are said to keep caterpillars at bay. Plaits of garlic hung round horses' necks are said to keep the evil eye at bay.

Last but not least, the little people at the bottom of your garden will go away if you serve them milk laced with garlic.

For centuries garlic has been said to cure gallstones, rickets and lumbago.

Herodotus said Ancient Egyptian priests spent 1,600 talents of silver, or roughly DM7.5m, on garlic and onions to keep the workmen who built Pharaoh Cheops's pyramid healthy.

In the Middle Ages St Hildegard used garlic to treat jaundice, while Paracelsus recommended its use to keep the plague at bay.

At an International garlic symposium held in Lüneburg 80 experts from all over the world compared notes and research findings on the 1989 "medicinal plant of the year."

It was said to make the blood flow better and improve the supply of essential oxygen to all parts of the body.

The risk of heart attack, stroke and blood vessel upsets can thus be reduced, he said. So was blood pressure.

Professor Ewald Sprecher from Hamburg said: "The positive effects on certain sectors in prevention of arteriosclerosis have been proven. Garlic was used not to reduce blood pressure but only as an ancillary medication."

The effect always depended on the quality of the garlic used, which was

■ HEALTH

Survey looks at effects of a meat-free diet

vey provide important pointers to the importance for health of a low-meat diet.

Vegetarians, for instance, have a lower caloric intake than non-vegetarians on balance and have little difficulty in keeping to their "ideal" weight.

Non-vegetarians, in contrast, even those who take care to eat a balanced healthfood diet, must make do with their "normal" weight.

Both groups consume roughly equal amounts of fat, but it has a less marked effect on vegetarians because of their different eating habits.

Male vegetarians consume on average seven grams more polyunsaturated fatty acids per day than non-vegetarians. The corresponding figure for women is three grams.

They also have a markedly lower cholesterol intake than meat-eaters. Seventy-one per cent of them stay below the recommended ceiling of 200 milligrams of cholesterol per deciliter of blood.

This is true of only 45 per cent of health-conscious carnivores. Vegetarians' blood pressure and weight are also markedly below the national average.

They also fast more often — even though they hardly need to do so.

Their outlook on consumption and luxury goods is almost missionary. They often buy fruit and vegetables, and even their potatoes, in healthfood stores, and classify wine as an alcoholic drink to be avoided.

Vitamin B₁₂ counts were found to be below the critical level in 16 per cent of male and 11 per cent of female vegetarians.

That is why a strict vegetarian diet is not advisable for pregnant women and breast-feeding mothers — or, for that matter, for babies and infants.

Vegetarians' iron counts were likewise found to be lower than the recommended levels, but seldom caused

identifiable symptoms — except under strain, such as during pregnancy.

On balance vegetarians seem to be healthier than non-vegetarians. Both groups were asked to fill in a questionnaire asking whether they had ever suffered from symptoms of specific complaints.

Only 4.8 per cent of vegetarian women, as against 27 per cent of non-vegetarians, had been told they had high blood pressure. The corresponding figures for men were 13.5 and 24.3 per cent.

Only 17.2 per cent of vegetarian women, as against nearly 30 per cent of non-vegetarians, had been told they showed signs of circulation trouble. The figures for men were 2.6 and 15.8 per cent respectively.

Vegetarians mentioned diseases of the joints, the stomach and intestines much less frequently than meat-eaters.

Their higher intake of roughage was again shown to have a beneficial effect on the kidney and gall-bladder.

Other findings indicated substantial differences where diet-related cancer was concerned.

As far fewer vegetarians smoke, and fewer drink alcohol, than non-vegetarians do, other cancer and coronary risk factors don't apply either.

Vegetarians more frequently go in for sport, preferring meditation and breathing exercises, water cures and sauna baths to physical exercise as such.

They also fast more often — even though they hardly need to do so.

Their outlook on consumption and luxury goods is almost missionary. They often buy fruit and vegetables, and even their potatoes, in healthfood stores, and classify wine as an alcoholic drink to be avoided.

Fish products and cod liver oil, especially in the capsule form sold as health care products, were found to contain traces of Toxaphene sufficient to pose a health hazard if regularly taken.

The Toxaphene count in food samples from the Federal Republic of Germany (10 parts per billion for butter and lard, three parts per billion for whole milk powder) was only just identifiable.

Toxaphene counts of 30 parts per billion in Rumanian soft cheese and 200 parts per billion in Russian caviar indicate that the insecticide is more widely used in the East bloc.

But Toxaphene counts of 30 parts per billion in Rumanian soft cheese and 200 parts per billion in Russian caviar indicate that the insecticide is more widely used in the East bloc.

Fish and fish products are the most heavily polluted. Icelandic cod liver oil was found to contain between 5.8 and 7.1 parts per million.

A cod liver oil sample from Canada contained 27 parts per million.

Cod liver oil, the fairly unpleasant taste of which many will remember from childhood, is frequently sold in capsule form as a health food additive in view of its vitamin and polyunsaturated fatty acid contents.

The Kassel chemists found Toxaphene traces of 6.5 parts per million in cod liver oil capsules, 6.2 parts per million in halibut liver oil capsules and 1.2 parts per million in salmon oil capsules — plus varying counts of polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs).

A daily intake of three 270-milligram capsules of cod liver oil, Professor Parlar says, will amount to a monthly intake of 0.16 milligrams of Toxaphene.

Fish products apart, he felt European foodstuffs posed strictly limited health hazards.

Findings are less reassuring in countries where cotton is traditionally an important crop.

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 8 March 1989)

New method of testing food for insecticide

Health care foods such as cod liver oil have been shown by an analytic technique newly devised in Kassel to contain alarmingly large traces of insecticide.

The technique was specially developed to identify in foodstuffs traces of an insecticide consisting of a wide range of chemical compounds.

Toxaphene, used mainly to fight the boll weevil, is a chlorinated hydrocarbon like DDT or Lindane. They are chemically stable and only slowly, if at all, biodegradable.

So they are problematic when enriched in the food cycle and stored in fatty tissue.

Unlike DDT, which is a single chemical substance, Toxaphene consists of 180 compounds, which has made it extremely difficult to trace by chemical analysis.

Professor Harun Parlar and his fellow-chemists and environmental chemists at Kassel University of Technology have devised the first analytic technique by which Toxaphene traces in food samples can be quantified.

Substances similar to the components sought are first separated by silica gel-Ultraviolet radiation then photochemically removes enriched chlorine atoms.

The remaining substances can then be identified and quantified.

Regular analysis of food samples has resulted in findings that are surprising, to say the least.

Fish products and cod liver oil, especially in the capsule form sold as health care products, were found to contain traces of Toxaphene sufficient to pose a health hazard if regularly taken.

The Toxaphene count in food samples from the Federal Republic of Germany (10 parts per billion for butter and lard, three parts per billion for whole milk powder) was only just identifiable.

Polychlorophenyl counts were found to be higher. Toxaphene was not clearly identified in Italian olive oil or French walnut oil.

But Toxaphene counts of 30 parts per billion in Rumanian soft cheese and 200 parts per billion in Russian caviar indicate that the insecticide is more widely used in the East bloc.

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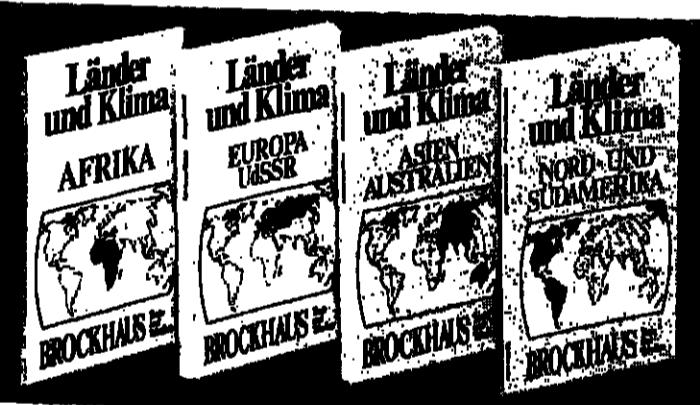
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(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 8 March 1989)

Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

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Ozone layer: Europe moves to cut CFC production

Scientists' warnings about the threat to the ozone layer have finally been heeded by politicians. European Community Environment Ministers have agreed, almost surprisingly, on a gradual phase-out of CFC, or chlorofluorocarbons, by the end of the century.

They have agreed to aim at a worldwide ban on the spraycan gas that has been identified as largely to blame for punching a hole into the earth's ozone-layer.

Destruction of the ozone layer is by no means the sole cause of the higher mean surface temperatures which scientists point a warning finger.

Static and vehicle emission and dust particles from industrial and power station smokestacks and vehicle exhausts are also to blame, as is destruction of the tropical rain forests.

So there may yet be hopes of European Community Environment Ministers "miraculously" appreciating — and getting — other aspects of the problem.

Eventually all industrialised countries might come to appreciate the problem faced by the Third World, at least where tropical rain forest destruction is concerned, and heed these warnings too.

The risk of heart attack, stroke and blood vessel upsets can thus be reduced, he said. So was blood pressure.

Professor Ewald Sprecher from Hamburg said: "The positive effects on certain sectors in prevention of arteriosclerosis have been proven. Garlic was used not to reduce blood pressure but only as an ancillary medication."

■ THE POLICE FORCE

Rebellious officers form own protest group . . .

Frankfurter Rundschau

Erich Dier, a senior police inspector in Munich, is to go into premature retirement later this year against his will. The reason is that the 47-year-old, on his own admission, did "two terrible things."

At a police operation at the Wackersdorf nuclear reprocessing plant, he observed that in his opinion some politicians posed a greater threat to this country's democracy than masked demonstrators.

And if that wasn't enough, he remarked to journalists that the police "have more important things to do" than concern themselves with the plight of the homeless. "There is a mountain of work to do in investigating environmental crime. I said those bad things openly."

Both observations drew quick disciplinary action. He came under such fire from both colleagues and superiors that "the police doctor decided for my own protection that I am long-term unfit for service." Now he has to end his career as a policeman. And the Bavarian force is not unhappy about getting rid of him.

But it should not celebrate too soon because in the past few years there have been more and more people like Dier turning up. One is a former policeman in Fürth, near Nuremberg, also in Bavaria, Hermann Weiss, 42, who has been a policeman for 24 years. Disciplinary action is also being taken against him because he spoke out instead of keeping quiet.

In letters to local papers, he said that a blockade of judges and lawyers in Mühlangen was "exemplary." Shortly afterwards, following a brutal police operation against a home for political asylum applicants, he said again in the local press that minorities also need the protection of the police.

Dier and Weiss are members of a federal committee of critical policemen (BAG, *Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft*) where they have at last discovered what was painfully absent at their duty stations: like-minded, courageous col-

Dissatisfied policemen seek new, varied work," reads the heavy print over an advertisement which several policemen in Goslar, south of Hanover, inserted in a daily newspaper.

They have won support from the police union, GdP. Hubert Schwaninger, GdP head in Brunswick, which includes the Goslar area, says: "The dissatisfaction is understandable. The men feel as if they have been abandoned."

The advertisement explained the dissatisfaction: most precincts were understaffed; too much overtime was being worked; the promotion outlook was bad; pay, especially in the middle ranks, was bad; and officers were having to put up with wretched treatment.

The advertisement says that "we no longer are prepared stoically to put up with all the abuse and again and again be required to exercise patience beyond normal levels. We don't want to be a load on the taxpayer's purse any more.

Dissatisfied officers want to leave . . .

For years we have been fed up with the supposed *Beamtenprivilegien* (privilege of being a civil servant, a prized status for many because of its job security.)

The action is modelled on a similar by an East Frisian BKA officer. There are about 70 in the current campaign. Union head Schwaninger says: "For years, we have been trying to get an increase in manpower here." Some of the stations were particularly thinly manned because in this area in the Harz, there were a lot of small stations: 70 per cent of stations had to operate with the minimum staff.

The advertisement says that "we no longer are prepared stoically to put up with all the abuse and again and again be required to exercise patience beyond normal levels. We don't want to be a load on the taxpayer's purse any more.

Desoi a determination to take up the cudgels for freedom of expression and against arbitrary action by officialdom.

All delegates who have chosen to stand out from the rank and file and say what they think have run into trouble. The attitude of their superiors is: "This officer tends towards confrontation." That's the term which policemen fear they will see in their references but it is a term which BAG hopes to give a positive meaning to.

Delegates came from all parts of the country. Many see themselves as part of a force that is more than just an instrument of power for politicians, to be used in defence of highly doubtful aims and to handle minorities.

One of the few senior police officials present, Michael Kniebel, head of the Bonn force, objected that police officers actually had a duty to object, and they could turn to this duty at any time if they thought a breach of some sort was likely to occur. That observation earned him gales of laughter. Many have found out what that "duty" means.

A Hamburg policeman, Holger Jänicke, who was one of the driving forces behind the founding of BAG three years ago, described what happened when, after 11 years of service, he objected for the first time.

"What happens when you do it? You are treated like a first-class prick. You come under pressure from above, from below and from colleagues." Jänicke turned to police chief Kniebel and added: "Ans because everybody knows that, so everybody can go away and say: oh, yes, there is a duty to object, oh yes."

Jänicke, not least because of the support from BAG, has grown more self-confident. In 1986, he and colleagues formed a ring around 600 demonstrators for more than 12 hours in Hamburg. Today, he would not just do it again without demur.

But he does say that it is difficult in such situations to assess how explosive the situation might turn out to be.

He dreams of the day when he sees that an operation "is ignoring human dignity and I simply go to the commander and tell him that I consider the operation illegal and ask him to leave me out of it." And if the request were turned down, he would, correctly in accordance with standing orders, demand written instructions for his continued stay on duty. He hopes that this sort of attitude would also set in motion a process of awareness among senior officers.

The number of critical policemen is tiny — 200 from 200,000 in BAG. Many others are afraid to take part. O-

The advertisement says that, in this way, one policeman must guarantee the security for 10,000 local people as well as tourists. According to the Ministry of the Interior, the aim was, in country areas, to have one policeman for every 1,000 inhabitants.

But any significant manpower strengthening is not in sight. According to the union's figures, only 105 officers joined the force in the entire Land of Lower Saxony last year; about 400 retire every year because of age. Schwaninger says the new minister of the interior, Josef Stock, has no intention of correcting this imbalance.

He was loathe to comment on the chances the 70 Goslar policemen might have in finding other careers. Private security organisations might not be the answer. Schwaninger: "There are now 13,500 private security personal in Lower Saxony. Slowly, the state's monopoly on might is being called into question."

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 6 March 1989)



Tarting up

The police station on the Reeperbahn in Hamburg, the Davidwache, is being closed temporarily for renovation. The distinctive building in the middle of the city's red light area marks over changing trends in the city.

In spite of all the complaining about insufficient pay and service frustration, the police force is proving extremely popular as a career for young people, says Rainer Nestler, a North Rhine-Westphalian Minister of the Interior.

Speculation has got out of control — some of it is logical but it is forgotten that the rational, enlightened individual, who refuses to do military service, does not exist, although it might be that he exists on paper as a perfectly comprehensible person.

Over the past few years, the *Landespolizei* trained few police officers because of lack of cash. "We were hardly represented in the market for police," says Nestler.

The basic principle is unambiguous: conscience is a possession to be treasured, but there is no clear definition of it.

Senior officers in the Bundeswehr make the job of Community Service officials all the more difficult by demanding objective decisions. Every application is examined for evidence of the applicant's claims.

Poulet is worried about the weakened image of the armed forces. He keenly trained as police officers despite greater availability generally of training places in the job market. The Ministry wants to find out why. Nestler: "It may be that young people are taking a different attitude to law and order."

The increase in people wanting to join the police that they had become whipping boys would have a repellent effect.

Sheer comfort spoils any fun their might have been in drilling. Lack of enthusiasm is sufficient as a motive as well, as is the fun to be had from going through all the hoops until acceptance as an objector to military service.

The new warmth between East and West has also contributed to attitudes. This warmth gives young people a sense

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 6 March 1989)

■ THE ARMED FORCES

Rapid increase in popularity of conscientious objection

Officials at the Defence Ministry in Bonn are tormented at present by a fear which in ten years' time could become a reality.

Bundeswehr tanks could be rattling over roadways, bemuddled and filthy, because there is no longer anyone available to clean them.

They fear that hardly anyone then will be prepared to be dragged into the mud for 18 months, take part in night marches and have a private life only at the weekends.

Young men in the Federal Republic are opting for social service, working in countless civilian jobs in hospitals, old people's and nursing homes rather than doing their national service.

There is no time to be analytical for the Federal Office for Community Service. Officials no longer know what to do with the piles of applications for exemption from national service.

There was a temporary boom in applications in 1977, when 70,000 were submitted. This was the result of what was called the "postcard procedure."

When the Bundestag reintroduced the stumbling block of examining the conscience appeal the number of applications for exemption from military service dropped abruptly.

If fact there is a succinct reason for the present increase in the number of applications for exemption. On 1 June, community service is to be extended from 20 to 24 months. Everyone who wants to claim exemption is hurrying to do so.

To deal with this mountain of applications, more than anyone had expected: 85,602 are completing their community service at the present, according to the statistics issued in February. More than 50,000 new applications have been submitted.

In fact there is a succinct reason for the present increase in the number of applications for exemption. On 1 June, community service is to be extended from 20 to 24 months. Everyone who wants to claim exemption is hurrying to do so.

There are about 100,000 community service places available, a record in the 28 years the Office for Community Service has been in existence.

All the figures and calculations cannot dispute the fact that there is a sense of helplessness prevailing.

There are no precise surveys, no analyses of motive. No-one quite knows why young men are objecting to military service.

It is this which Poulet dreads. The Bundeswehr has achieved its task of maintaining the peace so well, over decades, that even in the 1970s there was hardly anyone who believed that war was a possibility.

Peace has become a matter of course, like the air we breath. Even the Iron Curtain has been lifted more and more over the past few years.

It has not been unheard of for young men, eligible to be called up, to go to the

are out. The cheeks of the pacifist, given exemption, shine clean and shaven. If he wears running shoes then they are those with three stripes. Every third objector to military service wears trendy horn-rimmed spectacles. Certainly there are some of the old school. The neck-scarf flutters in the wind and a self-rolled fag hangs from the corner of his mouth.

There are fewer ideas along the lines of those which made the pacifist's heart beat faster in the past: the state, society and politics.

Young men who object to military service today have for a long time not been against the state and its organs. They go along with it with all its errors and merits, if they are concerned about political and social questions at all that is.

The listlessness towards the state is manifest today in abstention, in a neutrality consciously chosen, in a retreat into private life.

The state is there and is as such accepted. It has just lost in significance. Other things are more important.

In the evening during the week one objector, Robert, rises into the ether. He installs aerials for cash. He watches discussions at the most only on television.

Helmut Komes, community service adviser in the German Peace Society, experiences this day after day. He said: "We are dealing here with a trend affecting the whole of society. Objectors to military service are, in fact, a section of public opinion."

It is this which Poulet dreads. The Bundeswehr has achieved its task of maintaining the peace so well, over decades, that even in the 1970s there was hardly anyone who believed that war was a possibility.

Speculation has got out of control — some of it is logical but it is forgotten that the rational, enlightened individual, who refuses to do military service, does not exist, although it might be that he exists on paper as a perfectly comprehensible person.

Applications for exemption from military service are rarely the result of political considerations. Only applications which are based on conscience are given the state's blessing.

The basic principle is unambiguous: conscience is a possession to be treasured, but there is no clear definition of it.

Over the past few years, the *Landespolizei* trained few police officers because of lack of cash. "We were hardly represented in the market for police," says Nestler.

The ministry had been worried that there would be insufficient applicants.

Senior officers in the Bundeswehr make the job of Community Service officials all the more difficult by demanding objective decisions. Every application is examined for evidence of the applicant's claims.

Then there was the fear that the police that they had become whipping boys would have a repellent effect.

The increase in people wanting to join the police that they had become whipping boys would have a repellent effect.

Poulet is worried about the weakened image of the armed forces. He keenly trained as police officers despite greater availability generally of training places in the job market. The Ministry wants to find out why. Nestler: "It may be that young people are taking a different attitude to law and order."

The increase in people wanting to join the police that they had become whipping boys would have a repellent effect.

The slogan of "pluralism" ought to illuminate a little the phenomenon of the objector to military service.

Poulet, who is a serving colonel, did not mention another phenomenon: the objector to military service today is mentally and externally quite a different lad to the objector of 20 years ago.

Long hair has been cut, patched jeans



Practising caring instead of killing.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

was "just as much graft as being a soldier."

He said that there were "skives" even in the armed forces, "and quite a few." Robert slaves away 40 hour a week, like his 50,000 objector colleagues.

About seven per cent of young men in community service work in the social services.

Objectors have quickly gained the confidence of the public. Their public image is good.

Everyone knows at least one young man who is in community service who looks after an aunt or a neighbour with dedication.

Karl Grosch is himself in a wheelchair and is chairman of the society of invalids and their friends in Dreieich, near Frankfurt. He said that there were no better young men anywhere.

But from 1993 onwards, there will not be so many. The Bundeswehr then needs every man it can get for its authorised strength.

For some time the generals have warned that the armed forces are bleeding to death. They demand fundamental political forethought.

Bundeswehr strategists are also having to think about how to keep the ship off the rocks. The armed forces must have a new image.

For this reason advertising for recruits is emphasising more and more the opportunities for sport, of enjoying life to the full with leisure and adventure in the armed forces.

The advertising is aimed primarily at bright young men. They are in demand. Technology freaks have wonderful opportunities of a good job in one of the most modern armies of the world.

Guido, 20, and a newly qualified electronics technician, is an aeroplane fan. He has been thinking whether he could, as a "genuine pacifist," go into the Bundeswehr?

He has decided for the Bundeswehr if he is posted to the military airfield at Wahn, near Cologne.

He smiled, embarrassed. His girlfriend has a room nearby to cheer him up. The money's rolling in. There is no time for sentimentality.

Furthermore the people at the local alternative national service office "were very nice. No trace of square-bashing. It was almost like a first-class hotel."

The formal visit to the advisory office for objectors to military service was shocking in some ways.

Guido, called it "mental strip-tease," and left before him turn for interview came.

Rainer Spillhake, (Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 24 February 1989)